1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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241 476 Mutual assistance is customary in working the soil, sowing the nursery beds, transplanting the seedlings, weeding, cutting the rice, binding it into sheaves, and taking the harvest home. It is usual that food is supplied during the period that mutual assistance is given. Sometimes the same group of persons is involved in the *sĕlisihan*, the mutual-assistance group, for the various tasks, but usually not, since the number of persons necessary is not the same for each sort of work. In the district of Nĕgara all agricultural work is done by *sĕlisihans*.

Frequently there is a complicated system such as is followed for the harvest associations of women, where dozens of women are sometimes united in one *sĕlisihan* working according to a carefully drafted plan. A quite accurate estimate is made of how many cutters will be needed in the course of one single day to cut the rice of a member of the *sĕlisihan*. In this way it is possible to divide the cutters over the various *sawahs* each day in an efficient way. It is figured that a workday ends about one hour before sunset; if the cutters on a certain *sawah* are through with their work much earlier, it is a sign that the estimate of the *sĕlisihan* was too high. The *sawah*-owner then receives a certain compensation in money for the excess food he has given. It is quite just that this indemnity should be given, the more so since the wife of the landholder has to give the same number of days of service as she has profited from.

When someone's crop is not completely harvested in one day he must hire a *sĕka* for the rest. The *sĕlisihan* is completely separate from the *subak* association, which serves only irrigation interests. Often the community unit, the *banjar*, serves as a basis for a *sĕlisihan;* in other cases relatives and acquaintances join together.

10

The Formation of New Subaks

467 312 474 Several new *subaks* have been created in recent times in the eastern part of the region of Jĕmbrana, where a beginning in clearing the forests was made only after the Dutch expeditions against southern Bali in 1906–1908. The landrent monograph referred

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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to above reports that on 13 April, 1922, several members of the *desa* of Pĕngyangan concluded an agreement with a tunnel-diggers' association. The construction of tunnels stagnated owing to difficulties in the lay of the land, and had not yet been completed at the end of 1931. At present the *subak* of Pĕngyangan has an area of more than forty hectares, or over a hundred acres, with exactly fifty landowners from whom a total of *f* 530 in landrent is due. Reportedly the following procedure was used in forming this *subak*. From the very beginning the *sĕdahan agung* and the *sĕdahan* concerned were involved in the matter, and they were constantly kept informed on the amount of yardage measured out by the tunnel-diggers. After the tunnel-diggers' association had reported which terrains might reasonably be expected to be irrigable, the owners of the gardens indicated joined together to form a *subak*.

Even more recent is the formation of the Sĕrangsang River *subak* (in the territory of the *desa* of Gumbrih), which is now twelve hectares or some thirty acres in size and numbers twenty-six landowners, while the landrent due amounts to *f* 110. The first *sawahs* date from around 1914; at that time seventeen persons joined together in a *subak* on the initiative of the village elder, who was later recognized by the Dutch authorities as *klihan*. Irrigation water was obtained by damming off the Sĕrangsang River, a ravine which is completely dry during the eastern monsoon. The water is carried to the *sawahs* through an open conduit *via* the coconut groves of Pulukan Plantation. Some difficulties are created by an irregularity in the lay of the land, which has made it necessary to construct an aqueduct. The conduit follows the crown of a dike, but the dike has not proved able to stand up against the pressure of the water.

II

Moslem Subak Members

Though there are no *subaks* in Jĕmbrana consisting entirely of Moslems, there are associations here and there where their proportion is fairly high. The *subak* of Yeh Anakan, in the vicinity of